

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUDAPE 00902 290755Z

16

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAJ-01 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 ACDA-05 /073 W

----- 033371

R 290637Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2921

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 0902

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, HU

SUBJ: NEW HSWP POLITBURO

REF: BUDAPEST 0827

1. SUMMARY: WE HAVE BEEN DOING SOME RUMINATING AND EXPLORING RE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHANGES IN NEW HSWP POLITBURO. FOLLOWING ARE OUR CONCLUSIONS: (A) GYENES AND NOT SARLOS WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS; (B) AS KADAR MAN GYENES REPRESENTS DISTINCT IMPROVEMENT OVER PULLAI, HIS CHIEF COMPETITION FOR JOB, WHOSE ANTI-WESTERN OUTLOOK IS WELL-KNOWN; (C) KADAR, BY FAILING TO PROMOTE PULLAI AND PUJA TO POLITBURO STATUS HAS SUCCEEDED IN TRIMMING FEATHERS OF TWO HARD-LINERS IN PARTY HIERARCHY; AND (D) FOUR NEW MEMBERS OF POLITBURO (OVARI, LAZAR, SARLOS, AND MAROTHY) BROUGHT IN BY KADAR VERY SIGNIFICANTLY STRENGTHEN HIS CONTROL. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUDAPE 00902 290755Z

2. RECENT COVERSATIONS WITH DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES

SUPPORT VIEW THAT SARLOS REPRESENTS PATRIOTIC PEOPLES FRONT ON PLITBURO WHILE GYENES, ONE AND ONLY ADDITION TO SECRETARIAT, WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WE BELIEVE THIS ANALYSIS IS PROBABLY CORRECT. GYENES'S CREDENTIALS ARE FAR MORE IMPRESSIVE THAN THOSE OF SARLOS. FORMER BEGAN WORK IN HSWP CC FOREIGN DEPARTMENT IN EARLY 1962, BECOMING IN 1968 DEPARTMENT HEAD AFTER SERVING AS PUJA'S DEPUTY. HE WAS DEPUTY FONMIN 1970-71 AND HEAD OF HSWP CC FOREIGN DEPARTMENT AGAIN 1971-74. BYENES WAS NOMINATED AMBASSADOR TO GDR IN SEPTEMBER 1974.

3. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH AUTHORITATIVE HUNGARIAN SOURCE WHO VOLUNTEERED INFORMATION GYENES DEPARTED HSWP FOREIGN DEPARTMENT IN SEPTEMBER 1974 AT HIS OWN INSISTENCE BECAUSE HIS POLICY DIFFERENCES WITH PULLAI GOT TO BE SO SERIOUS THAT HE ASKED TO BE RELIEVED. GYENES AGREED TO COME BACK IN HIS PRESENT CAPACITY PROVIDED IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT PULLAI CONCERNED HIMSELF SOLELY WITH YOUTH AND INTRA-PARTY MATTERS AND WOULD HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO SAY IN FOREIGN RELATIONS.

4. SOURCE IMPLIED THAT REASON WHY PULLAI DID NOT MAKE IT TO POLITBURO WAS THAT, INTER ALIA, HE HAD OPPOSED KADAR'S ECONOMIC POLICY ON WHICH HE WAS A HARD-LINER. HE SAID THAT HIS EXCESSIVE ATTACKS ON MANAGERS AT 11TH PARTY CONGRESS WAS CLEARLY CONTRARY TO POLICY AND THAT PREVIOUS REFERENCES BY KADAR TO HIGH PARTY OFFICIALS POUNDING TABLE AND DEMANDING CERTAIN COURSES OF ACTION RELATED TO PULLAI'S ACTIVITIES IN HIGH-LEVEL HSWP MEETINGS. SAID KADAR (AND WE HAVE THIS FROM VARIETY OF SOURCES) DOES NOT LIKE PULLAI AND WANTED TO BRING IN HIS OWN MAN TO HANDLE FOREIGN AFFAIRS. CLEAR INFERENCE IS THAT PULLAI IS ANTI-KADAR.

5. MANY OF THINGS SAID ABOUT PULLAI CAN ALSO BE SAID ABOUT PUJA. KADAR DOES NOT LIKE HIM AND FAILURE OF BOTH PULLAI AND PUJA TO MAKE PLITBURO CAN BE CONSTRUED AS EVIDENCE OF THIS. BY FAILING TO PROMOTE PULLAI ALONG WITH OVARI (PULLAI HAS FOUR YEARS SENIORITY ON

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUDAPE 00902 290755Z

BOTH CC AND SECRETARIAT), KADAR IS SIGNIFYING HIS DISENCHANTMENT WITH PULLAI. SIGNIFICANTLY, HOWEVER, BY KEEPING PULLAI IN SECRETARIAT, ALTHOUGH WITH REDUCED RESPONSIBILITIES, KADAR SEEMINGLY HAS AVOIDED A FACEOFF WITH RUSSIANS, AND HE HAS ADDED TO SECRETARIAT GYENES, HIS OWN HAND-PICKED MAN. AS FOREIGN MINISTER PUJA HAS NOW BEEN REDUCED TO CARRYING OUT DECISIONS BY GYENES IN PARTY SECRETARIAT.

6. FEW MEMBERS OF WESTERN DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY KNOW GYENES. HOWEVER, BRITISH AMBASSADOR REPORTS THAT LAST FALL DURING VISIT OF BRITISH LABOR PARTY LEADER, CALL WAS MADE ON GYENES. BRITISH WERE IMPRESSED WITH HIS VITALITY, INTELLIGENCE, PERSONALITY, AND GOOD GRASP OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. CLEARLY, FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT, GYENES' APPOINTMENT REPRESENTS DISTINCT IMPROVEMENT OVER PULLAI WHOSE ANTI-WESTERN OUTLOOK IS WELL-KNOWN.

7. AS OF THIS WRITING IT REMAINS SOMEWHAT UNCLEAR WHETHER FOCK WILL REMAIN AS PRIME MINISTER. THERE APPEAR TO BE AS MANY REASONS ARGUING THAT HE WILL REMAIN AS THERE ARE THAT HE WILL NOT. ON NEGATIVE SIDE IS FACT THAT HE HAS BEEN PM SINCE 1967, THAT HIS OUTSPOKENNESS (E.G. HIS REMARKS AT AIRPORT ON RETURN FROM MOSCOW IN 1972) HAS EARNED HIM HOSTILITY OF SOVIETS. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE HAS BEEN TARGET FOR CRITICISM FOR SOME TIME FROM INTERNAL AND FOREIGN SOURCES AND POSSIBLE BOTH. WHILE HE IS A TOUGH-MINDED MAN AND IS NOT AVERSE TO SPEAKING HIS PIECE, THERE IS NOTHING TO INDICATE HE IS AT ODDS WITH KADAR. HIS SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS (BUDAPEST 814) COULD BE REGARDED AS COMMUNIST SELF-CRITICISM, A TACTIC IN THIS INSTANCE DEVISED TO MAKE GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN HSWP RESPONSIBLE FOR MISTAKES. IN THIS CONNECTION IT MAY BE SIGNIFICANT THAT BOTH HORGOS, MINISTER OF METALLURGY AND MACHINE INDUSTRY, AND DIMENY, MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, WERE OUSTED FROM CC AND, AS FAR AS WE KNOW, NEITHER SPOKE AT 11TH CONGRESS. ON BALANCE, FACT THAT FOCK REMAINS IN POLITBURO WE TAKE AS EVIDENCE OF KADAR'S CONFIDENCE. IN OUR VIEW THIS TILTS SCALES SLIGHTLY MORE IN FAVOR OF VIEW THAT HE WILL REMAIN.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BUDAPE 00902 290755Z

8. OVERALL, IT SEEMS CLEAR TO US THAT KADAR HAS MANEUVERED SKILLFULLY IN CHOICE OF INDIVIDUALS TO FILL HIGH PARTY POSITIONS AND THAT WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF PULLAI, HE HAS CAST OF CHARACTERS THAT, FOR WHATEVER REASON, ARE IN HIS CORNER; THUS MAKING NEW POLITBURO MORE RESPONSIVE TO HIS LEADERSHIP.
MUDD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY ELECTIONS, PARTY LEADERS, PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BUDAPE00902
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750110-0469
From: BUDAPEST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975034/aaaaadkw.tel
Line Count: 162
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 BUDAPEST 0827
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <05 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEW HSWP POLITBURO
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, HU
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006